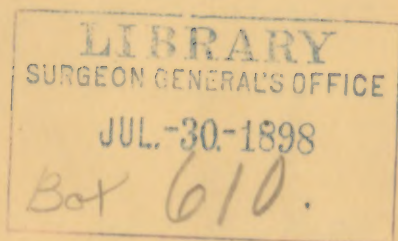


Gregory (Sam'l)

The war against the
New England female med. coll.

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THE WAR

AGAINST THE

NEW ENGLAND

FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.

BY SAMUEL GREGORY, A.M., M.D.,

Secretary of the Board of Trustees.

Circular to the Members of the Massachusetts Legislature.

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BOSTON:

PRINTED BY ALFRED MUDGE & SON, 34 SCHOOL STREET.

1866.

CIRCULAR.

THE parties who have petitioned the Legislature to investigate the condition of the New England Female Medical College, "for the purpose of inaugurating any reform or improvement," express the belief that the college ought to be so conducted as to "secure the coöperation and approval of leading medical men"; and they assert that the medical profession withhold their "coöperation and approval," not because they are opposed to the institution and its objects, but because of something in its management. And as this is used as an argument in favor of abolishing or reorganizing the present Board of Trustees, it becomes necessary to expose the falsity of the assertion, and show the true reasons of the hostility to the college and its Managers.

The institution (which was opened in 1848,) has of course had to contend with the difficulties incident to a new and experimental enterprise,—such as popular prejudice, the doubt as to its success and the consequent tardiness to extend the requisite pecuniary aid, the incompatible and disturbing elements that will work into an enterprise requiring many managers and employees, and the feelings of envy, jealousy, and malice to which human nature is liable; but, in addition to all this, the college has had to struggle against the active opposition of the medical profession, and the dead weight of their influence. And any little difficulties arising in the institution, any technical questions as to its management, that would never be noticed in any other corporation, are eagerly seized hold of and magnified by this hostile interest, and used to damage or break down the college.

The effort of the petitioners to have it placed to some extent under the control of medical men, shows, as will appear

in the following pages, that either they are very ignorant of the history of this enterprise, and of what the interests of the college require, or else they are desirous to put the institution into the hands of those who would rather abolish it, than make it a success.

The writer having given his exclusive attention to the enterprise and the institution for the past eighteen years, has certainly had ample opportunity to know their history and workings, and what is required for their success.

The writer has no quarrel with the medical profession, and if they have any with him he is willing to submit it to an impartial tribunal for investigation and adjustment. The presentation in the following pages is not prompted by any personal ill-feeling toward any man or class of men, but by an earnest interest in the success of the college and the beneficent objects its establishment was designed to accomplish. In a pamphlet by the writer entitled "Letter to Ladies in favor of Female Physicians," published in 1850, the following paragraph occurs:

"It is not necessary to say that physicians, as a body, are an intelligent, honorable, and most useful class of men. Nothing is farther from the author's desires or intentions than to depreciate their worth in the estimation of the public, or to discourage sound and thorough medical education. Among the profession he has many valued friends and agreeable acquaintances, classmates and others. It is not that he regards their interest less, but the general good more, that he thus strongly urges this matter."

Such were his sentiments sixteen years ago, and such they are now. And having said thus much to guard against misrepresentation, he will now present some historical facts.

More than forty years ago Dr. John C. Warren and Dr. James Jackson, of Boston, introduced a woman into the practice of midwifery in this city, which aroused great opposition among their professional brethren. In the Life of Dr. Warren, compiled

from his autobiography and journals, and published in 1860, this matter is alluded to as follows:

"Dr. Jackson and I proposed to give up our midwifery business more than twenty years ago, and, there being no exclusive male practitioner in that department, we determined to recommend Mrs. Alexander. She was a Scotch woman, regularly educated, and having Dr. Hamilton's diploma. But, although we intended to relinquish only what belonged to ourselves, a great objection arose to this plan, and we agreed to give her up."

"We agreed," with the medical profession of Boston, "to give her up." Had they not given her up the profession would probably have given them up. Mrs. Alexander, however, went forward and had a large and successful practice for about twenty-five years, among the most intelligent and influential portion of the community. It may be said that times have changed since that day. True, but human nature remains the same.

In 1850, the originators of the institution petitioned the Legislature for an Act of Incorporation as the "Female Medical Education Society." It was opposed by medical gentlemen in the Legislature. One of them, in the Senate, having offered his objections, Hon. Henry L. Dawes ably advocated the measure, remarking in the course of the debate that he did not wonder that his friend from Middlesex should be somewhat alarmed in prospect of his fair competitors, and thus turned the laugh upon him. The bill passed the Senate by a vote of eighteen to four, and the House without open opposition. In 1853 the Society petitioned for a college charter. Eminent medical men appeared, in the interest of the profession, before the Committee on Education, in opposition to the petitioners, and that year the petition failed.

The Scholarship grant of 1854 and the grant of 1855 were alike vigorously opposed by medical men in and out of the Legislature, but the latter passed the Senate without any demonstration against it, and though warmly opposed in the

House, "it passed by an overwhelming vote," as reported in one of the daily papers. The granting of the college charter, in 1856, was still more zealously opposed, medical influence being specially active. A supply of copies of the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, containing an article of five pages against the whole idea of female physicians and midwives, was sent up to the State House for the members of the Legislature. But the opposition lying under the suspicion of not being disinterested, it had a contrary effect from what was intended. The bill passed the Senate without an open attempt to defeat it, and, though it was earnestly contested in the House, it passed that branch by a vote of 126 to 21.

The writer was personally cognizant of all these matters at the different sessions, and from past experience and present observation, he believes the demonstration against the college now going on before the Legislature is stimulated and encouraged by the profession, though they do not publicly appear in the case. That the complaints now brought forward against the management of the college are not the *cause* of their opposition is evident from the fact that the opposition was the same before any such complaints existed. Everybody knows how conveniently Boston influences are brought to bear at the State House.

The same professional zeal and industry that were exhibited in the efforts to prevent the Legislature from aiding the college, by the grant of funds and a charter, are shown in efforts to prevent individuals from giving it money, which of course greatly increases the labor and the difficulty of raising the needed funds for the institution. And a publication of this kind is necessary in order that the *friends* of the college may better understand what it has to contend with, and thus feel the need of extending to it more prompt and liberal aid. Hon. John Wade remarked to a friend of his, that, on account of the opposition to the college, it was not likely to get its share of aid. And this fact, together with the importance of the institution, which he said

was "one of the greatest blessings of the age," induced him to give to it that \$20,000 Scholarship Fund.

The following petition was sent to the Trustees of the City Hospital.

To the Trustees of the City Hospital, Boston :

GENTLEMEN,—The undersigned, the Trustees of the New England Female Medical College, respectfully represent,—That they are desirous to have the graduates of this college qualified in the best possible manner for success in their vocation and usefulness to society,—that opportunities for observation and clinical instruction in a hospital are considered by medical instructors as essential to the most thorough education of medical students,—that hospital advantages in connection with this college will attract to it students who will otherwise be under the necessity of going elsewhere for such benefits,—that the students of this college may be useful as nurses or assistants in the hospital while obtaining their education. The undersigned, therefore, respectfully petition your Board to allow the students of this college access to the female wards of the City Hospital, at proper times and under proper regulations, to receive whatever advantages may be available to them in the pursuit of their medical education.

(Signed)

CHARLES DEMOND.
WM. CUMSTON.
GEO. M. RANDALL.
MICAHA DYER, Jr.
JOSEPH W. PARKER.
STEPHEN G. DEBLOIS.
EDWARD N. KIRK.
JOSEPH H. WILLIAMS.
JOHN BATCHELDER.
MATTHEW HARVEY.

GEO. H. HEPWORTH.
JONAS FITCH.
WM. W. HOPPIN.
RYLAND FLETCHER.
JOHN J. NEWCOMB.
EMERSON DAVIS.
DEXTER S. KING.
JOHN P. GULLIVER.
CURTIS C. NICHOLS.
SAM'L GREGORY.

Boston, Sept. 9, 1865.

The following is the reply to the petition:

CITY HOSPITAL, Oct. 10, 1865.

GENTLEMEN, — The Trustees of the City Hospital have taken into consideration the matter of your petition of Sept. 12. With every desire to make our institution useful in the diffusion of medical knowledge, we find that we cannot grant your request without interfering with the rules and arrangements of the hospital. We are supported in our decision by the unanimous opinion of the Visiting Physicians and Surgeons.

By order of the Board of Trustees,

OTIS NORCROSS, *President.*

To CHARLES DEMOND, Esq., and others,
Trustees of Female Medical College.

No one can deny that this was a respectful and reasonable petition, asking merely that *female* students might have access to the *female* wards, "at proper times, and under proper regulations," while the students of the Harvard Medical School (located in Boston,) have the benefit of the whole of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and the whole of the City Hospital.

The petition was referred at once to the Board of Physicians and Surgeons, some twenty in number. They *unanimously* objected, and the Trustees returned the above reply to the petitioners. "Rules and arrangements" would not have been in the way had the physicians been in favor of the medical education of women. They say they are opposed to female physicians because they are not thoroughly educated, and at the same time they refuse to give them the smallest chance for improving their education.

Last summer a fine young physician and surgeon, in an adjoining city, was invited to take a professorship in the college. After ample time for consideration and inquiry he decided to be a candidate. He was appointed, and he sent in his letter of acceptance. In due time the annual term and the names of the professors were advertised in the public journals. This drew

the eyes of the profession upon him. He was waited upon by prominent physicians, one of them a Boston gentleman of high position, who told him that if he wanted to retain the good will of the profession, it would not do for him to lecture in that college. And such was the pressure brought to bear upon him that he felt compelled to give up, yes, to violate, his engagement. The professorship was thus made vacant just at the commencement of the term, much to the disappointment of the Trustees, and the detriment of the college. The professor elect was asked if the objections of the physicians related to any person connected with the management of the college. "No," said he, "in no way, shape or manner — they objected to the *principle* of the thing." That is, to the education of women as physicians. The names of physicians engaged in this meddlesome business were given to the writer, but he withholds them for the present.

This spirit of hostility to the college is more determined in Boston than in any other part of the State. Here is the battle ground, and an army of over three hundred physicians. Here, too, women are making great inroads upon the lucrative practice of obstetrics and the treatment of the diseases of women and children; and the opposition is as natural as human nature itself. All classes of persons fight against reforms and changes that conflict with their interests, however beneficial such reforms and changes may be to society at large; and physicians are as good as other human beings, and no better.

There can be no clearer evidence of the success of this enterprise, past and prospective, than this very opposition; for, if it was likely to amount to nothing, why all this timidity and perturbation on the part of the profession? The advice of a certain "doctor of the law," one Gamaliel, given to certain parties eighteen hundred years ago, may very properly be repeated in this connection. — "And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone, for if this counsel or this work be of

men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it."

The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, (the official organ of the profession) of July 7, 1864, in an article headed, "Indiscreet Recommendations," contains the following paragraph, relating to a Hospital for women and children, in this city, — an institution in no way connected with the New England Female Medical College. The paragraph is aimed at certain prominent medical men who have ventured to associate professionally with female physicians, graduates of the college and others, in the hospital.

"A communication lately appeared in an evening paper of this city, soliciting subscriptions in behalf of a hospital for women and children. This may be a desirable object, but we question if the gentlemen whose names appeared in support of it were delighted to see them attached to a communication of somewhat questionable taste in a non-professional print, and we doubt if they intended thus to publish their approval of the system of committing a hospital to the medical care of female practitioners, an interpretation which will, without doubt, attach itself to this measure among the profession."

Thus it appears that the Editors of the Journal object to having a hospital for *women* and *children* under the medical care of female practitioners.

Again the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, of January 18, 1866, in speaking of the Female Medical College and the Female Hospital, says,

"They both aim at giving to women the education and privileges of practitioners in medicine, and in doing so claim to hold a position in advance of the main body of the medical profession. As yet no graduate of the Female Medical School, nor any female physician, has been recognized, however fully qualified, as a regular practitioner, by the Massachusetts Medical Society. Graduates of the School are attached to the Hospital,

as officers, and with them, of course, the gentlemen connected with the latter are ready to consult. This is the false position of which we complain, and which in our opinion ought to be changed. They have signed the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, agreeing to abide by their provisions. These provisions, to our minds, are clearly at variance with the ground they occupy."

Thus we see that the editorial expounders of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Massachusetts Medical Society are of the opinion that it is clearly at variance with the provisions of those instruments to *recognize* female physicians; yet the petitioners to the Legislature wish to put into the government of the New England Female Medical College, men who, according to the opinions of their own professional brethren, must, by accepting the position, violate the regulations of the Medical Society of which they are members, and subject themselves to its discipline. Perhaps they imagine that the Massachusetts Medical Society is going to change its Constitution and By-Laws to enable its members to carry on the Female Medical College.

They say that the opposition here is not to the *objects* of the college, but only to its management, or to some person connected with it. But how is it in other places? In 1850, two years after the institution was started in Boston, a Female Medical College was opened in Philadelphia. And the hostility of the profession there has been even more demonstrative than here, as will appear from the following official report, copied with approval, into the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, of Aug. 28, 1859.

"Report concerning Female Physicians. — The following report on the subject of female medical faculties and graduates, was passed recently by the Philadelphia County Medical Society, and adopted subsequently by the State Medical Society.

"In reply to the propositions embraced in the resolutions submitted for their opinion, the censors would respectfully report

that they would recommend the members of the regular profession to withhold from the faculties and graduates of female colleges, all countenance and support, and that they cannot, consistently with sound medical ethics, consult or hold professional intercourse with their professors or alumni."

The expression, "female medical faculties," from the Medical Journal, conveys the idea of medical faculties composed wholly of women, which is not the case in any female medical college. It appears from the above report that, in Philadelphia and throughout the State of Pennsylvania, not only are women physicians in all ways discountenanced by the gentlemen of the art, but if a medical man, however respectable, presumes to take a professorship in a female medical college he is put under the ban of the profession.

Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, Editress of Godey's Lady's Book, Philadelphia, in an article in that Magazine, says, "The dead weight of self-interest and prejudice that has opposed the medical education of women can hardly be estimated by any except those engaged in the work. It has been a hard struggle."

It will certainly not be pretended that this action of the Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Medical Societies was occasioned by anything connected with the Female Medical College in Boston. Lest, however, it should be so pretended, a case still farther away will be cited.

A medical college for women was opened in London in 1864, the President of which is Lord Townshend. In the report of its anniversary meeting, in 1865, as found in the Victoria Magazine, the following paragraph appears :

"Mr. Burney stated that the Committee were under obligations to these eminent men, [the professors in the institution,] for having braved the prejudices and unfriendliness of the general body of their professional brethren by identifying themselves with the commencement of this movement."

Thus it appears that professional "unfriendliness" is no re-

specter of persons or places. It will show itself wherever an attempt is made to give women a medical education; and the person who does the most to start and carry forward such a movement will be the most cordially disliked by all physicians who dislike the object in view,—precisely as William Lloyd Garrison, of all men in the world, has been the most heartily disliked south of Mason and Dixon's line.

Prominent physicians have just been formally asked, in view of this matter pending before the Legislature, whether, in case the present Board of Trustees should be set aside and a new one organized, they would take positions in the new Board, and help manage and carry on the college; and they have declined the proposition; thereby showing that they are opposed to the institution itself and to its objects; and are unwilling in any way to give it their countenance or support.

It is but just to state, that the college has many friends and approvers in the profession, who aid it in a quiet way but do not deem it expedient to subject themselves to the professional discomfort and injury which a connection with the institution, or any public advocacy of its claims, would bring upon them.

In the Life of Dr. Warren, before quoted from, occurs the following paragraph:

"Many years ago, we find a plan in discussion by Drs. Jackson, Warren, and others, for the instruction of females in midwifery. This was abandoned for weighty reasons. Mrs. Alexander was subsequently introduced by them; but the plan of employing females did not, nor has it yet, come into favor."

Thus we see that eminent physicians, years ago, discussed a plan for some sort of a school for the education of midwives (a system that prevails throughout the continental countries of Europe), but even that they abandoned for "weighty reasons." What those "weighty reasons" were, we can readily judge from the treatment which Drs. Warren and Jackson received for introducing *one* midwife into practice. Eminent physicians

undertook a small affair and failed. But eighteen years ago a movement commenced outside of the profession, and has been carried on chiefly by non-professional men and the public generally, and the result is, the New England Female Medical College, with a list of two hundred and thirty students, sixty-one graduates, and assets to the amount of \$66,000. Can there be any stronger evidence that the college has been judiciously and efficiently managed by its past and present Trustees, and that it would be most unwise to disturb in any way the existing organization?

It would be unjust to suppose that the opposition of the profession to female medical colleges, here and elsewhere, is altogether due to personal and professional interest. Many physicians do not believe it practicable, or beneficial to society to introduce women into the profession, even in the capacity of midwives, much less as physicians. If therefore both their belief and their interest are against the plan, they certainly are not the persons or the class of society who will earnestly and efficiently carry on a female medical college.

And then there are the deep-rooted professional prejudices. According to Hume, the historian, it was remarked that no physician in Europe, who had arrived at the age of forty years, ever to the end of his life adopted Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of the blood; and Harvey's practice in London was for a time sadly diminished by the professional odium drawn upon him by his great discovery. Physicians all believe in the circulation of the blood now; and at some future time they will believe in women as a useful and important part of the medical profession.

It may be asked how, if such is the feeling in the profession, have professors been obtained for the college? They have mostly been physicians residing out of Boston, and not subject to the pressure of professional influence existing in the city. In other cases they have been physicians newly arrived in the

city, and having no relations with the profession here. The college has less difficulty in that respect at the present time than formerly, as it has now competent lady professors, from its own graduates; and half of the six professorships are more properly filled by ladies. The difficulty of getting professors has been increased by the small inducements the Trustees have been able to offer. In fact, the whole movement, from its inception to the present time, has been a continuous struggle under difficulties, and if its history was fully known, instead of complaints there would be an expression of wonder that so much has been accomplished under the circumstances.

The proper place for physicians in a medical college is in the *Faculty*, as instructors, and not in the Board of Managers. The Harvard Medical School is not managed by medical Trustees. Why should this be? The two departments — the Government and the Faculty — should be composed of persons of *different* interests. A corporation of non-medical men are competent to select suitable professors. If they need any information to aid in the selection they can easily obtain it from physicians out of the college. The corporation of Harvard University consider themselves competent to appoint professors for the medical department of the institution; and so are the Trustees of the Female Medical College competent to make up a faculty for that institution.

In regard to the law points in question, relating to the State grants and the election of officers, it may be remarked that the scholarship grant of \$5,000, in 1854, was applied by the Trustees, as they believed then, and do now, according to the terms and intent of the Resolve. Among the Trustees, and sometime Treasurer of the college, was Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, who helped frame the Resolve, and who is a man of acknowledged eminence in the legal profession. Had there been any doubt about the matter, the time to raise the question was after the first annual instalment had been paid. But neither the leading

petitioners, who were then a part of the college, and who now bring this charge of misapplication of funds, nor the State Auditor or State Treasurer, so far as known to the Secretary, who drew for the Treasurer all the quarterly payments, ever raised such a question; and probably neither these parties or any of the Trustees ever had a doubt upon the subject. The Trustees think that "no legislation is necessary" upon that point, and they are entirely willing to leave it to the common sense of the public.

As to the grant of \$10,000, in 1855, to be applied in providing a building, and for the general purposes of the institution, that has been used precisely according to the terms of the Resolve, and there is not room for a reasonable doubt on that point.

As to the election of officers, the Committee on Education did not feel so clear as to pass upon that point themselves, but had it referred to the Judiciary Committee. The Trustees may therefore well be excused if they overlooked or mistook the meaning of the charter in that particular. It is obvious that the four members who go out annually are entitled to act, at the annual meeting at which their term of office expires, on all business except that of voting for their successors. No one alleges that they did vote; and the only question is, whether there must be a full quorum present *besides* the outgoing members, in order, legally, to fill the four vacancies. As if there should be just the quorum, of one hundred, of the House of Representatives present, and a question should arise upon which some of those present were prohibited, under the rule, from voting. Would the House omit to act on the question because there was not a quorum present independently of the non-voting members? It is quite likely that the legal nicety might escape notice. As even the question of the voting of the soldiers in the House, upon the bounty bill, was not raised till after considerable voting had taken place upon the subject.

But suppose there was an error in the case. No harm resulted from it, and certainly none was intended. The Trustees were all duly notified, and knew what was to be done, and neither the absent members nor any body else ever found the least fault with anything that was done, and the meeting referred to, in the Report of the Committee on Education, took place more than eight years ago. Corporations sometimes transact business without a quorum, and the next meeting approves of the doings, and they are held to be legal. In the case of these elections the record was read and approved at the next meeting with a quorum of votes.

In view of the foregoing facts and considerations, can the Legislature think it expedient to set aside or in any way to disturb the present government of the college, under whose auspices it started and has grown up to its present position, and place the institution under a new and less experienced board of managers? Can the Legislature consider it just toward the large number of intelligent and honorable men who have served, gratuitously and disinterestedly, as Trustees, to make the trifling mistakes, if they are mistakes, the occasion of abolishing the Board, as if they had committed some great offence, and subjecting the government to the process of "reconstruction"?

Instead of such an extraordinary and uncalled-for measure as the abolishment or the reorganization of the Board, it is believed that the Legislature will, in accordance with the desire of the Trustees, legalize, if necessary, the doings of the corporation, and let them go on undisturbed, to erect the college building, and finish the great work they have brought so near to completion.

In fact, if anything inadvertently done needs confirming, there will be the same necessity for legalizing it, in order to save the property and enable a new or modified corporation to go on, that there would be to enable the present Board to go forward legally. And if the transactions are such as can properly be confirmed, what occasion or excuse can there be for the Legisla-

ture to set aside the present Board and create a new one? The old Board will have all the advantage of its past experience, together with the light afforded by this legislative interpretation of past enactments relating to the institution.

The writer regrets the necessity of the foregoing exhibition of professional illiberality and intolerance, and he closes by reaffirming what he said in commencing, that this presentation is not prompted by any personal ill-feeling toward any man or class of men, but by an earnest interest in the success of the college and the beneficent objects its establishment was designed to accomplish.



Since the foregoing pages were in type, a published document by Enoch C. Rolfe, M. D., the leading petitioner to the Legislature, has been supplied to the members, being a "Reply to Dr. Gregory's Circular," of April 26.

From this paper it appears that the war is waged mainly against the Secretary, and has been for years; and had he not been strong in the justice of his case, and in the confidence of the Trustees, he would have been swept away long ago. The hostile spirit that pervades the article would perhaps be a sufficient antidote to any harm it might do, but there are some things in it that seem to require notice.

In speaking of the first class in midwifery taught by him and Dr. Cornell, Dr. Rolfe says, the Secretary, at the close of the term of three months, wished them to have certificates that they were qualified to practise. To some extent they were, some of them having practised that branch before they came to the school. Mrs. Sylvia Goodwin, of Worcester, has attended between two and three thousand births, though she never attended

a medical school at all, and with better success than the most learned doctors of the art.

Dr. Rolfe's arrears, of \$150, and all other college debts, would doubtless have been paid before this, had not these hostilities interfered with collecting funds. He vouches for the qualifications of the thirty-nine graduates who went out from the college during his connection with it, thus contradicting the allegation of his associate petitioners.

The Trustees were obliged to reduce the pay of the professors from \$300 to \$200 for the term. Dr. Rolfe replied that he could not lecture for less than he had been receiving, and thus closed his connection with the college. Now he says "he could not conscientiously support the government of the institution longer." It is obvious that he would have continued if the other hundred dollars had been added.

In 1849 the Secretary gave some lectures in a country town. An interest was created, and the people wanted a midwife for the place, and Mrs. Goulding was selected and sent to the school. This is the "instrumentality" of which he spoke in his Circular. Mrs. Goulding has had repeated commendations in the Annual Reports, and elsewhere, for her successful labors as a collecting agent. She had the best part of the field, and the constant co-operation of the Secretary. She reported to him, one day, that Mr. L., a wealthy gentleman of Boston, remarked to her, "You are the one to get the money, and Dr. Gregory is the man to write it up." She was, however, by no means, "the sole reliance for sustaining the institution" even in the few years in which her success was greatest. Dr. Rolfe says the Secretary's statement that she partook of the funds which she now says were misapplied is false. The counsel for the petitioners (Mrs. G. heading the ladies' petition,) alleged that the \$10,000 raised to secure the State grant of like amount, was misapplied. Mrs. G. partook of that \$10,000.

The Secretary's brother, contrary to Dr. Rolfe's statement had a certificate of agency from the President of the Society.

Dr. Rolfe's remark, repeated from Mrs. Goulding, depreciating the Secretary's services, as if he did *nothing*, is in strange contrast with his complaint that he does *everything*. Mrs. Goulding, in a letter to the Secretary, dated Taunton, July 25, 1854, says: "I received yours of the 21st, with circulars and reports for which I am much obliged. I am also obliged for the information relative to the debts of the Society. It is truly hard for you to bear the responsibility of so much expense, gaining nothing for yourself but the consciousness of having, benefited those who are too stupid to realize it." She seems now to have forgotten the abundant encomiums she used to bestow upon the Secretary for his toils and sacrifices, and the great good she thought he was doing for mankind.

The writer assumes no credit to himself, for at best he has been but a humble *instrument*. But one thing is beyond dispute, — when he began there was not so much as a germ of an institution; under his labors and supervision the college has grown up from nothing to what it is, — something important enough, as it appears, to take up some time and attention in the Massachusetts Legislature.

Dr. Rolfe says the Secretary "is in no respect entitled to the credit of being a pioneer in the work of establishing colleges, by name or nature, for the purpose of female medical education." If it was a mere matter of "credit" the writer would say nothing; but as the object of this combined assault of all the elements of disaffection and hostility is first to disparage and then to "crush out" the Secretary, he feels compelled to reply to this oft-repeated assertion.

Dr. Rolfe speaks of the idea of a college with a full course of medical instruction as having been suggested to the writer by Dr. Longshore, of Philadelphia, from whom he received a letter, dated May 23, 1849; not, as Dr. R. says, in the winter of 1848-49. In a pamphlet by the writer, written in 1845, and published in 1846, by his brother, George Gregory, who as

early as 1844 collected materials upon this subject, this language occurs, "there is demanded now, as formerly, a supply of female accoucheurs; also, a class of female physicians, qualified at least to attend to the peculiar complaints of their own sex." In advertisements of public lectures, in Boston, by the writer, in March, 1848, more than a year before the letter from Philadelphia, it was stated that one of his objects was "to show the importance of the establishment of a school in the city to educate female physicians and accoucheurs," and that the audience "would have an opportunity to sign a petition to the Legislature to establish an institution to educate female physicians and midwives." In an advertisement of the first term of the lectures, in 1848, the following paraphrase appears: "This incipient measure may perhaps grow into a New England College for educating midwives, nurses, and female physicians. This college should be located in Boston, as the focus of New England, and connected with it should be a well-regulated Lying-in Hospital."

The college in Philadelphia was not opened till 1850, but it commenced with a full Faculty. In 1851 an arrangement was made to have a full Faculty in the New England Female Medical College, as it was then called. The Secretary's objection was not to having a complete college organization, at the earliest period practicable, but to importing the Philadelphia Faculty to Boston. And the result showed that his objection was well founded; for a part of that Faculty, with Drs. Cornell and Rolfe, announced "A course of Medical Lectures to Women in the City of Boston, by the Faculty of the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania, in conjunction with the New England Female Medical College, to commence February 16, 1852." The joint Faculty then went to Philadelphia, and in their catalogue of students they published all of the Boston class as being students of the college of Philadelphia, with no intimation of the existence of a college in Boston. And for years the N. E.

College suffered from this arrangement, which made it a sort of appendage to the Pennsylvania college.

If the Boston institution has received more funds it has more to show, a better foundation; and it has sent out more graduates according to the number of years it has conferred full medical degrees; and they are regarded as standing fully as high in medical attainments.

Dr. Rolfe speaks of the Board of Lady Managers, connected with the college about three years, commencing in 1859. Their efforts were devoted to the hospital branch, and the college proper was left embarrassed pecuniarily by the experiment. The Trustees discontinued the hospital department, and there was no further occasion for a Board of twenty-four Lady Managers. Some of these ladies, with others, started a new hospital. If they have been successful, it is a matter of gratification. But a hospital is an ancient idea, and has no opposers, while the Female Medical College was a new comer in the world, and has had to struggle for its existence, under a heavy fire all the while.

Some physicians have ventured into the hospital with the lady practitioners, but they have been castigated by the Medical Journal, as appears in the foregoing pages. Somebody tried to mollify the editors of the Journal by informing them that the hospital had no connection with the college, as they at first supposed.

Dr. Rolfe's statement as to the standing of the Secretary with the Board of Trustees is sufficiently answered by the fact that he has always been triumphantly sustained. Only one out of the forty-three different trustees ever suggested to him that he decline a re-election. There was in 1861 a desperate effort made to have him dropped from the secretaryship, — not from the Board; and after a long investigation of what Dr. Rolfe calls "the numerous and grave complaints against the Secretary," the matter was brought to a test, and at a meeting of thirteen

members of the Board (a larger number than ever met before or since), only three votes were cast for another candidate.

Dr. Rolfe's statement respecting various trustees, as to the length of time they served, and the amount of labor and examination they bestowed, in meetings and out, is very erroneous and unjust.

Since this matter came before the legislature, much has been said about trouble in the institution; two parties; and the idea of compromising, and harmonizing, and healing difficulties. There is entire harmony in the Board, and in the Faculty, and between the two. The discord is all outside, among those who want to get in. Nobody cared to seize control of the institution when it was poor and struggling for existence; but now that it has by the labors of its past and present managers secured a large pecuniary and real estate property, and is sure to take rank, in the words of the petition to the legislature, "among the institutions for which New England is so renowned," there are a plenty of people who want to help manage it.

Dr. Rolfe says the Trustees are men of high reputation — "so high," says he, "that I would willingly submit our case to their decision, provided we could have a full and patient hearing, as we have repeatedly, but vainly, tried to obtain."

The Committee on Education, in their report, of April 12th, to the Legislature, say:

"The petitioners alleged that they had failed to obtain a hearing before the Trustees, and therefore they appealed to the Legislature, as the power granting the charter. The Trustees replied that they had ever been ready, and still were ready, to investigate any charges that were properly preferred against the institution. By mutual consent, such an investigation before the Trustees, was made, and the report of that investigation was submitted by the Trustees to the committee, in writing."

The Trustees had three lengthy meetings, two of which were

devoted to hearing the allegations of the petitioners and the proofs in support of them. The Trustees made a long report to the committee, accompanied with the following brief *result* of their investigation :

To the Committee on Education of the Senate and House of Representatives.

GENTLEMEN: We, the undersigned, Trustees of the Female Medical College, would most respectfully report, that the petitioners to the General Court, with their counsel, appeared before this Board, and had ample opportunity to examine all the books, papers, and records of this College, and present such evidence as they deemed proper to support their allegations.

After a full hearing, we are fully satisfied that the allegations have not been proved; and we believe that there has been no misapplication of any funds, and no mismanagement of the affairs of the College, and no ground for any examination by your honorable Committee.

JOHN BATCHELDER,
MICAH DYER, JR.,
STEPHEN G. DEBLOIS,
CURTIS C. NICHOLS,

JOHN J. NEWCOMB,
WM. CUMSTON,
GEO. M. RANDALL,
SAMUEL GREGORY.

BOSTON, March 28, 1866.

There would have been a larger number present but for some vacancies then existing in the Board, and imperative engagements on the part of some of the members. Of the truth and justice of Dr. Rolfe's statement as to the refusal of the Trustees to give the petitioners a hearing the reader can judge. Dr. Rolfe is, however, disposed to treat them leniently. "I will not," says he, "condemn them, nor will I allow S. Gregory to hide behind such a shield."

If the object of all this demonstration was, as is now evident, to hit "S. Gregory," it would have been more straightforward and manly to have attacked him directly, instead of assailing the whole Board of Trustees, — a more simple and just proceeding, to have dragged him out, if he deserved it, than to upset a whole corporation for the purpose of tipping him out. But though the petitioners are manifestly bent upon this expedient it is impossible to believe that the Honorable Senate and House of Repre-

representatives will do anything in aid of such a manœuvre. They will rather vindicate the Trustees, and then leave them to use their own judgment as to who shall be the President, Treasurer, Secretary, and Committees of the Board.

As these assailants are trying in all ways to depreciate the services of the Secretary, it may be proper in self-defence to allude to the agency he has had in the financial success of the college; and this he does without wishing to detract in the least from the credit due to other trustees, and to agents, more than thirty of whom have been employed.

The Wade Scholarship Fund of \$20,000, about which complaints are made, might not have been given to the college had the Secretary bestowed less attention upon the matter. It was, so far as appears, the result of nine years of acquaintanceship with Col. Wade, with constant effort to make the college merit his favor, and due attention to keep him informed of its progress and prospects. An additional \$10,000 is to come from the same estate some years hence. Mrs. Waterhouse, of Cambridge, made a donation of medical books, through the application of a lady acting as an agent. This led to the Secretary's acquaintance with her and the suggestion to her that she endow a professorship. After some months had passed she sent for the Secretary to come and get \$1,000 toward the professorship, and she informed him at a still later period that she should provide for the completion of the endowment. She accordingly left the additional \$9,000 by her will. A connection of Edward A. Raymond asked Rev. Martin Moore if he knew how Mr. Raymond came to leave that bequest of \$5,000 to the college. "No," said Mr. M. "It was all owing to Dr. Gregory's persistence," said the gentleman. Persistence in a proper way of course, else it would have defeated its purpose.

The Secretary obtained the signatures of one hundred and twenty-eight of the leading men of Boston, representing many millions of dollars, to petitions to the City Government to sell

the college a building lot at a low rate. A liberal offer was made by the city, and he then raised over \$10,000, which, with Mr. Raymond's bequest, paid for the land. In addition to these items, he has from the beginning been a collecting agent for general expenses.

Dr. Rolfe says, the Secretary is a traducer of the medical profession. If the medical profession desire it the writer will join them in having their allegations investigated by an impartial tribunal. If it is decided that he has wronged them in anything he has written or spoken, he will retract it, and make all amends that reasonable men can ask. If it is decided that he has only told the truth, though to them unpalatable, they shall forever after hold their peace.

Dr. Rolfe says the Secretary is obnoxious to many of the graduates of the College. Some of them may have been drawn into this party of assailants of the Secretary, and some may differ from him in their views and ideas, and might therefore prefer that the College should be under the management of those of their own sentiments and predilections; but he is willing to have any of the graduates asked whether they have ever received from him any other than kind and respectful treatment, and whether he has not manifested an interest in their success while in the College, and after they have left it.

The Secretary is aware that he has within a few years displeased some of the graduates, by his agency in procuring the adoption of the title, Doctress, instead of Doctor, in the style of the medical degree conferred by the College. The Trustees believe that the public convenience and the cause of female medical education will be promoted by the use of a distinctive feminine title for female physicians, and that a Female Medical College should take the lead in establishing this usage.

The following is a testimonial presented to the Secretary in 1861, at the time of the effort to have him displaced. It was

signed by thirty ladies, eighteen of whom were graduates at the time, six have graduated since, and the others were students :

" To all whom it may concern :

We, the undersigned, recent students and graduates of the New England Female Medical College, feel ourselves much indebted to Dr. Samuel Gregory, for his many kindnesses and his uniform regard for our comfort and interest in our progress, during the time occupied in the pursuit of our studies, and certify that we have ever found in him the gentlemanly qualities and scholarly fitness requisite for the important station he fills. We would, moreover, express our gratitude for his noble and persevering efforts in the cause of female education, without which effort, we feel assured, such cause must have long waited for support, or languished for want of encouragement, that has placed it among the successful reforms of the day."

BOSTON, May, 1866.

